2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18



The smoke offering of the Skiri Ghost-Dance was not altered by this new organization. Only the Seven Eagle Brothers participated directly. The Seven Crows organization was an alternative one, to assist in the singing. After a day of Ghost Dancing, Sam Cover, the leader of the Seven Eagles, might officially turn over to the Seven Crows the singing and leadership of the dancing for the following day. With the Crows leading, the formal positions for beginning and ending the songs and dancing remained the same.

Every day after the dancing, the people gathered outside for the formal food offering and blessing before eating (see above). The chiefs talked. The arrangement outside was the same as that previously described, except that now instead of the Seven Eagle Brothers on the east facing west, the two organizations were seated together, the Seven Eagles south of the mid-point, the Seven Crows just north of it, making a row of fourteen seated side by side.

After the organization of the Seven Crows, the form of Skiri Ghost-Dancing passed through only minor alterations; so far as memory of informants goes, it remained constant—constant at least while the Ghost-Dancing was a serious belief and practise of the Pawnee.

With the alternative organizations of Seven Brothers and Seven Crows for the Ghost-Dance singing, in the event that both groups of singers were tired at the end of a day of dancing, and neither was anxious to take over the leadership the next morning, a custom of playing a hand game to decide who would carry the burden the next day tended to develop. In the central leading tent in the evening, the Ghost Dance leaders and the two organizations ate together, with the Seven Crows on the north side, the Seven Eagles on the south. Here in the talk which accompanied the meal, the members of the two brotherhoods might challenge each other to play a hand game that night. The losers would get up early and begin the dancing; the winners could sleep late.

Each formal occasion of four-days' Ghost-Dancing was in general charge of one man, and was "put up" in the main by one woman. After a woman had offered to put the dance up, the chiefs gathered and selected one man to be in charge. This man's job was to handle all matters which came up during the entire period of dancing, a hard task and a great risk, because whatever happened while the dance was in progress was credited to the one in charge for blame or praise. If there was good luck, people spoke well of him; and if there was bad luck, people agreed it was his fault.[1]

[1] Such responsibility of the leader is true for all Pawnee ceremonial venture. The method of having someone, usually a woman "put up" the

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18



668 796 777 [276 782] Mark Evarts led several times, and says that whenever he had the lead he had good luck. One time a baby was born while the dance was in progress—that was good luck. Tobacco was being ceremonially prepared to be handed to Mark for making a smoke offering. While they were praying that good luck might go with the tobacco, a grandchild of Linford Smith's was born. So all present thanked God, and hoped it would be that way throughout the dancing.

[184] While these developments were taking place among the Skiri, the Ghost Dancing of the South Bands continued to follow the formal arrangements which had been instituted by Frank White. As members of the organization of seven singers which had been developed by White died, new members were selected to take their places. The smoke offering was not altered.

668 796 [484] [346] Murie, in discussing Pawnee ceremonial Ghost Dance, forms, states[1]:

"In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they learned what is now regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple. . . The modern Ghost Dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center toward the north or south side according to the place of the host . . ."

The arrangement of which Murie speaks, in terms of which the leading tent was on the north or south according to the place of the host, refers to Ghost Dance hand games, rather than Ghost Dances proper: for in the hand games, as will be described below, one side (either north or south, viz., either Crow or Eagle) is "host" and in charge.

## GHOST DANCE SONGS[2]

796 533 The songs "dreamed" or secured in visions in the Ghost Dance ranged over all the subjects that could naturally come to mind. Some emphasized aspects of the Ghost Dance doctrine, viz., that in the other world all was as in former days, that the Christ was

affair, viz., supply the bulk of the meat and other food necessary, as well as the method of selecting one man to be in charge, are general Pawnee patterns.

[1] Murie, p. 630.

[2] The song texts of this section have been retranscribed and retranslated from the Densmore versions by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18



668 in the supernatural sanction of the game. Many games were
525 probably demonstrated briefly and then forgotten.
787 The Pawnee developed an interesting check upon the validity of these Ghost Dance hand game revelations. They knew that any one could make up the game with sticks, altar arrangements, smoke offerings, and special complexities. For this reason the people were especially interested in watching the play of a game the *second* time it was demonstrated by the owner. Their contention was that if the game was just made up the owner would not be able to repeat his own arrangements accurately, while if the vision was a true one he would always remember his ways, could in fact never forget them.

The game visions were supposed to give full directions to the visionary as to the details of the game. This included the essentials of the ritual aspects, as offerings, and ceremonial arrangements, the character of the hand game set, the way to play the game. Each composite of these things constituted a set of teachings similar to the ritual lore of a bundle owner in former times, and the paraphernalia used in demonstrating the game constituted a bundle.

The Ghost Dance hand game was a ceremony, not a gambling game, and as such the elements of gambling of the earlier game were
• [777] eliminated. But the concept of luck involved in the play of the game was carried along with a changed meaning; it may have been in fact the use of luck as an omen which stimulated the rapid growth and widespread playing of these games.

525 Gambling for the Pawnee, as doubtless for most primitive peoples,
777 is associated with feeling of the existence of luck as a definite quality of the world. To win in a gambling game is to win not only the stakes: to win is to get a vote of confidence, a promise that the gods are on your side. The immediate benefit of the victory is of course the spoils. But beyond these immediate stakes there are greater stakes which have been won. You cannot know, you cannot guess what ultimate benefits of fortune will accrue. But you have assurance that *luck* is on your side. You must await the outcome of events and see what happens. Something good, something lucky and fortunate, is bound to happen to you. When
668 it does, that is because you won when you gambled. The need for
525 luck is overpresent because of the precariousness of life. This need
777 was acutely felt in Ghost Dance times. It was because luck was
787 against the Indian that the white man was conquering. The Ghost Dance doctrine was a promise that fortune was to be on the other side. Now in addition one needed luck to be with the winning side. To be assured of the ultimate change of the Ghost Dance one needed

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18



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the luck of visions; and to be assured that one would be saved when the great destruction came, one had to be in touch with the controlling influences of the spirit world, which could be had only through visions.

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In the early games, as we saw, the men who played imitated various birds and animals as they played. The belief is that birds and animals play hand games too, even as men. In the Ghost Dance two birds were preeminently the choice of the dancers, the eagle and the crow, because of the known characteristic traits of these birds—their wide, far-flung flights, on which they saw the world below them and everything that went on in it. When you were influenced to fall into a trance because of either of these birds, or when in your trance either of these birds was your guide and helper to find lost relatives and lost ways of life, you became associated with that bird. When in the hand game you played as a "crow" or an "eagle", you played to find out which was luckier, which held promise of the greater good fortune. In the early Ghost Dance hand game days it is said by all that the losers cried desolately and the winners were jubilant. As there never were material stakes for a Ghost Dance hand game, clearly it was nothing won. Bad luck or good luck had been discovered as one's portion. To lose was an ill omen.

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An incident by Mark Evarts illustrates the foregoing:

Once at a Ghost Dance game played by Mrs. Washington, Mark held the counter in his left hand. The guesser indicated that hand as his choice, when, as quickly as it was guessed, it seemed to pass to his right hand, and there it was. This, according to Mark, was a sign of good fortune. A while later Mark was given Ridingin's daughter to marry. Goodeagle, the girl's grandfather, told the people at the time Mark was married to the girl, that he had had Mark in mind for a long time. Mark feels that this was what his hand game luck forbode. He considers this connection of the events reinforced by an experience which had occurred to him some time before he played in this hand game of Mrs. Washington's. One time when he was near a creek with a large clump of cottonwoods, an eagle came circling, looked at Mark and went off again. "Now Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle represent two eagles," says Mark. "and that may have been the time they thought about me and considered me." Thus the experience with the eagle is reinterpreted in the light of hand game luck and the good fortune which followed it.

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An interesting aspect of the above experience is that Mark considered the fact that the counter changed hands miraculous. Not from Mark did I ever learn that in the old game changing the

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18



668 525 counter from hand to hand in this way was a regular form of deception and part of the game. Other informants told me about this old method of play after I had recorded Mark's experience, and only then did I become aware that in terms of Ghost Dance hand game ethics Mark had cheated, unconsciously falling into the habits [577] of play he had been used to in his boyhood.

The concept of luck associated with hand game play was broadened conceptually in the Ghost Dance. Winning was a sign of greater faith, and since the coming change could be attained through faith alone, losing was a bitter dose indeed. It marked one as a disbeliever, a sinner, an unfortunate who could not be saved.

121 525 668 In the chapters which follow I have considered the Ghost Dance hand games in two ways. In the first discussion the material facts of the games have been used to define the generic aspects of game rituals and ceremonies, and to bring out the significance of the various parts in order to consider in a later discussion the contrast with the old game and the meaning of the changes. In other chapters the details of the individual games are presented so far as known, in a form which makes them at once comparable with the analysis which precedes. In this way repetitions have been reduced to a minimum.

The order in which the games are presented, especially those of the Skiri, is an attempt at something of a chronology.

128 525 668 The exact order is of course impossible to determine at this date. Many were developed well-nigh simultaneously. If the owners of old games are interviewed each is likely to contend for the priority of his or her own game. But certain games are known to be very old, certain others to be very recent. In addition special traits of the individual games place them in one or another of relative periods of time, before which they could not have used certain forms, and after which they must have. In short, on the basis of internal evidence as well as tradition a fairly sure chronology of the games *as groups* had been obtained. The question of priority within the groups is problematical.

There are first of all the games of the South Bands. Of these I have heard of only five: Joseph Carrion's, Tom Morgan's, White Elk's, Charley Brown's (this and White Elk's are collaborative), and Annie Eustace's. Tom Morgan's game as we saw was probably a nonceremonial one, which he altered to suit the new fashion, while Carrion's was the game he learned among the Arapaho. These two are then definitely older than the White Elk-Brown game, and that of Annie Eustace, for both of the latter were developed *as* Ghost Dance hand games.

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8: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18



783 rite, they seated themselves in their original places,
778 and the priest said, "Priests, the men whom we have sent out to look about have returned. They will tell us what they have seen." The man on the northeast rose and announced, "We went out before daylight. We found the buffalo; so many of them that they have almost drunk the river dry." The others rose in turn and gave the same answer.

The chief priest then called some famous warrior and gave him the sacred pipe which the men had used, and gave the strip of fat to a chief. These passed around the interior of the lodge, first on the north, and then on the south side, offering first the pipe and then the fat to each of the keepers in turn. All reached for the pipe at once, trying to get as many hands on it as possible. They did the same with the fat, clutching it as if starving and trying to tear off pieces. This sym-
[777] bolized their eagerness to kill buffalo, and the tighter a man grasped the pipe, and the more fat he succeeded in tearing off, the better would be his success on the hunt.

When the pipe and fat had completed their circuit, they were placed on the altar. The priest then called the chief of the whole band to the altar and invested him with the robe, rope, and moccasins which had been provided as gifts to Mother-Corn. The sacred pipe was placed in his hands, and the priest announced, "Priests and men, this man will take us to the river." All the keepers then went to the pit and took from it the Mother-Corn belonging to their respective bundles.

While this was going on, men had entered the lodge and seated themselves in front of the bundles belonging to their respective villages. The star chart was brought in from outside and given to a warrior belonging to the village of the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle. Three other men were given quivers belonging to other sacred bundles. These four seated themselves,

White Woman and Victory Call to eat, one for No Corn and Horse Rider to eat together, and one for herself and her grandson, Otter.

When they got to the top of the hills eight miles west of Genoa they could sight the school house. Everyone called out, "There it is—*kax-karit-pahat*" (house-stone-red). It was red brick. Along the north and south side of the Loup is a deep valley and from the hills on either side of the river, one could see a considerable distance.

No one could camp anywhere near the earth lodge village itself. It was infested with fleas. They camped in the bottomlands within reach of their fields where they stayed for three weeks while they treated the crops and cleaned out the earth lodge so that it became habitable. In the open, they could more readily dispose of the husks, cobs, and other wastes that resulted from processing the crops. The Stay-at-Homes came along to meet them starting out from near Columbus 22 miles away and following northwestward along the Loup River. "Here come the Kakusu, the Stay-at-Homes," everyone would call out as they approached.

There was one more item of formal business that they had to attend to before they could get down to the activities of the harvest. To his tent, White Eagle called representatives of each of the four villages and the five old priests. In White Eagle's tent and in his charge at all times had been *taxpiku*, the holy man, who symbolized the luck of the whole tribe on the hunt. It was during the spring, when they had the ceremony of the Young Corn, *Kurahus*, that he was charged with this holy office. He was a man of exemplary character who was favored by the supernatural powers through the generous offerings he had made to their ceremonies. He had to keep his buffalo robe wrapped around him at all times. There was an absolute taboo against his bathing. He was not allowed to cut his fingernails or comb his hair. The other old men went along, one or the other of them staying alongside all during the hunt. His food was fed to him in a special bowl and he was always served first, for it was recognized that he was under a severe strain. Should he take a bath or his feet touch water, there would be severe thunderstorms. It was at this ceremony that he was praised for his courage and diligence and dismissed from his office. Now he was able to laugh and joke. "Oh my, I'm lousy," he said, "and my feet stink!" He tossed off his blanket and ran down to the creek to take a bath as soon as he could. He was no longer an official and no longer needed to be on his dignity.

They still had one more holy man, *taxpiku*, who was holding in the luck of the crops. He had been appointed early in the spring when they distributed the first seeds of the sacred corn. He would not be released until after the harvest. This man had been appointed when the Young Mother Corn was installed, and carried through the summer buffalo hunt and was then dismissed. These were men who had proved themselves devoted to the supernatural powers by their offerings to the sa-